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travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-har*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Grennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

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875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around 872 in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the 794 great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to 574 the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed 431 "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[21a 787] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolbe*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

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One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif; others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the head of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

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CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kedhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

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CIRCUMCISION

Despite the statement of Rohlfs to the contrary,[1] all the peoples of northern Morocco circumcise. This operation, although it may be performed at any time of the year, is usually carried out either in September, when the grapes have been picked, or in mid-winter, when it is considered that the cold will prevent infection. On account of this seasonal occurrence of the rite it is impossible to state definitely at what age it is performed. Nevertheless there is a significant difference in the ages at which it is carried out in different tribes, tribes of the central Rif usually performing it when the child is less than a year old. Three months is considered a felicitous age, but naturally the child is not always three months old at one of the favored times. Among the Arab-speaking peoples of Morocco it is usually performed at the age of seven or eight years. Circumcision is performed in early infancy in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Amart; all the Beni Urriaghel excepting Beni Hadifa, all of the Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Imsdurar, Inhanahan, and Iharshliyen, all the Senhaja Sghir, all the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja excepting Fenassa, Beni Koraa, and Rgheiwa, and all the Ghomara.

In all the rest of the region under consideration circumcision is carried out during the seventh or eighth year. It is interesting, from the point of view of comparison with other peoples, that the Arabs and Shluh circumcise at the age of seven or eight, that the Zenata, as represented by the Beni Znassen, put it off until just before marriage, and that among the Braber three separate customs are found; circumcision at seven or eight years, at the period immediately preceding marriage, and, among some groups, I have been told, failure to circumcise at all.

In regard to the person who performs the operation, here again we meet with a difference of custom. Among the central Riffian tribes the act is done by a preceptor or student who makes a specialty of this work, and who has a regular route which he follows twice a year, in September and in mid-winter. Some groups employ local preceptors; others patronize visiting ones from other tribes. Circumcision is performed by local or resident preceptors in Beni Urriaghel (with the exception of the mountain region), Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Targuist, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, all the Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. It is performed by borrowed or itinerant preceptors among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Ktama.

The routes or spheres or influence of some of the more prominent preceptors are as follows:

Preceptor of Ajdir: Ajdir and the rest of Aith Yusuf u Ali, Beni Bu Ayesh, Beni Abdullah, and sometimes Imrabten; all these being *fifths* of the Beni Urriaghel, excepting Ajdir, which is a village therein.

Preceptor of Iherrushen (from the *bone* of Ulad Alu Fars): Iherrushen, Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ain el Hamara, Ihershliyen, Inhanahan, Bured, and Temjunt; these are *cantons* of the Gzennaya. He likewise officiates for all the Aith Ali and the Jebel Hammam people of the Beni Urriaghel.

Preceptor of Targuist: Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, and Beni Hadifa of the Beni Urriaghel.

[1] Gerhardt Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco*, p. 45.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 Preceptor of Taghsuth: Taghruth and Ktama.

•875 Preceptor of Beni Bu Nsar: Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath.

In the rest of the region in which circumcision is performed by preceptors, all are local or resident. Preceptors build up reputations for dexterity in their trade, and their clientele of families grows or shrinks like that of family doctors. There are some families of Ajdir who send for the preceptor of Iberrushen instead of employing their own local practitioner, merely out of personal preference. Hence, due to the individual nature of the choice, the routes of the itinerant ones vary, while the distribution of the local ones remains the same.

304 In other tribes an illiterate man is employed. He performs the circumcision from the secular point of view of earning his living, rather than as an act of religious or magical virtue, as in the case of the preceptor. The lay practitioner is called by the name *akovani*, which means "illiterate" but has acquired the specialized meaning of "circumcisor" as well. The *akovani* is employed by the Kebdana, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, Mtiwa, Beni Bu Shibet. The Arabs of the plains normally use the *akovani*. In Fez, however, a preceptor is employed, as in the central Rif.

85-
0304 The preceptor when called to perform the operation, puts up a white flag on the roof of the house before he enters it, leaving the flag there until the operation is over and he is ready to depart. He takes eight to ten students with him, whose business it is to read the Koran aloud while he is working.

The preceptor and his students enter a special room, taking with them the boy, who has just been washed by his mother. The parents of the child, all women, and all illiterate men are excluded from the room during the operation.

The preceptor greases the foreskin and gland with butter until all is soft and pliant, puts a goat dropping inside the foreskin, which he twists around over it, and cuts off the foreskin with scissors, in such a way that the goat dropping is cut in two during the process.

Then he takes two eggs, the shells of which have been cracked and the whites of which have been drawn off, and thrusts the penis through holes in the shells into the yolks of both. It is said that this is done to cauterize the wound, and any magical significance which this action may imply is probably forgotten. After this has been done an old woman, preferably the child's grandmother, enters and picks the child up, taking him out on her back.

After the operation the preceptor and his students are given a great feast to which many guests are invited.

On account of the danger of infection circumcising is a dangerous practice, and the number of practitioners is few. During the hegemony of Abd el Krim, the preceptor of Ajdir once cut off the end of the gland of a child he was circumcising. If it had not been for [682] the intervention of Abd el Krim, who assessed five hundred dollars blood money, the preceptor would surely have been killed, since the child died shortly after the accident. On account of this incident many families of Ajdir call in the preceptor of Iberrushen, as has been previously noted.

304 The *akovani* is a different type of person from the preceptor. He is a rough, unlettered fellow, occupying a social position which, while not definitely degraded and certainly higher than that of blacksmiths and market-criers, is yet lower than that of the ordinary farmer. His occupation does not, however, imply Negro blood, and does not carry any social restrictions with it.

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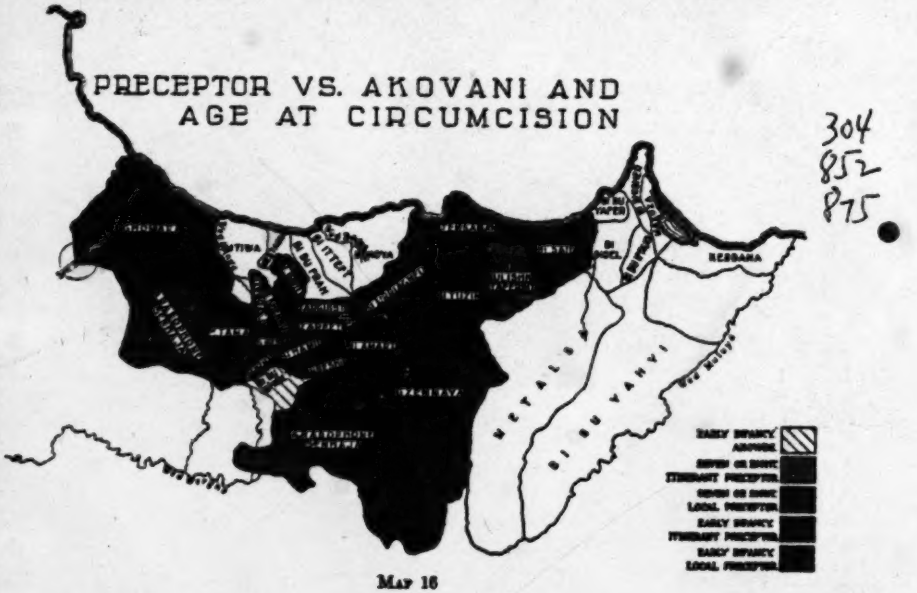
The technique of the *akovani* differs from that of the preceptor. He enters the room in which the child is sitting, without any accompanying students. The child's parents and all men except himself are excluded, but the presence of women is required. Fifteen or twenty of them sit around the room singing throughout the operation. The *akovani* proceeds in the same manner as the preceptor, until the foreskin has been removed. At this point, instead of thrusting the penis into egg-shells, he rubs it with powdered goat manure.

In the process of getting rid of the foreskin, the preceptor and the *akovani* likewise differ. The preceptor puts two eggs in an earthen bowl full of earth, and thrusts the fore-



MAP 16

skin into the earth between the eggs. He hands this to one of the students, who covers the whole with a cloth, and carrying it out into the courtyard gives it to the boy's father or paternal uncle, who takes it out secretly to an unfrequented place and buries it, bowl and all, so that it will never be found. Great care is taken to keep the location of the foreskin secret, and not even the preceptor is trusted with its disposal. The *akovani* does not employ a bowl or eggs, but gives the raw foreskin to the father or paternal uncle, who disposes of it with as great secrecy as in the case of the other technique.

In regard to payment, another difference appears between the preceptor and the *akovani*. The former considers that he is doing a charitable or virtuous work, and never demands payment. If the family is wealthy enough, the father gives him a dollar, a goat, or some article of food. If the preceptor considers the gift a strain on the family resources, he

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304 852 875 gives it back. The *akouani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 584 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.